

Preface of the Editor

The present book by Hermann Fehst opens the investigations of the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question. The Institute was not established for reasons of theoretical considerations, but was born directly out of the requirements of the German present. It was necessary to create a body which, independent of governmental or propagandistic interests and measures, would investigate Judaism in all directions and present the results of its scientific work in a generally comprehensible form.

In deliberate self-restraint, the Institute will deal with Judaism only as a political major, while leaving racial research on the one hand and religious-historical questions on the other to other bodies.

Judaism as a factor in international politics, as a natural political organization, and as an element of economic management will be our primary concern. We note the fact that Judaism participates decisively in reactionary groupings, that it is an important propagator of liberalism and the heart of Freemasonry, and that in spite of this – or precisely because of this – it has become the bearer of Marxism and Communism. We see the opposing theory of liberalism on the one hand and communism on the other, but we also see the largely coinciding practice of both political-economic systems. We judge them by their objective result and look for the same cause for the same consequences.

We hope thus to introduce a new point of view into the polemic about Judaism, the point of view of the political; we also pose a new question, and that is the question of the substance of political sizes.

With good reason, the Institute begins its work by publishing a book on Bolshevism and Judaism. Not only is this problem the focus of general attention, not only is the practical-political significance of the connection between Judaism and Bolshevism of tremendous, unparalleled importance, but nowhere can the new approach and the new question be better tested for its correctness and fruitfulness than through an investigation of the Jewish element in the leadership of Bolshevism.

Hermann F e h s t comes to the irrefutable conclusion that Jewry bears the responsibility for the Bolshevik overthrow in Russia, and that to this day the decisive positions of power in Soviet Russia are occupied by Jews. He does not want these statements to be understood as if the Bolshevik Revolution were a "thing" of Jewry; but it follows indirectly from his statements that the form of the social revolution had a race-fighting content and that as a result of this race fight the old Aryan-Russian master class was displaced and destroyed by the new Jewish-Asian master class. A change of the ruling and exploiting stratum has been the result of the Bolshevik Revolution and has remained so to this day. In place of the bloodless constructions and propagandistic assertions of Marxism, which pretended to arrive at a "dictatorship of the proletariat" and finally at a "classless society" by means of an alleged "class struggle," the naked political reality has been substituted, which consists in the fact that the dictatorship of a new race has been established in Russia after a war of nationalities. The question about the substance of the communist tyranny is thus clearly answered, even if one sticks to the very cautious percentages of the un-meanly conscientious author.

An infinite number of errors, preconceived opinions, propagandistic lies and naive fantasies are settled by the result of this work. As little as it was possible before the National Socialist revolution to speak of Bolshevism being on the way to "bourgeoisification," so little can it be argued today that Bolshevism is in the process of "reshaping itself into a kind of National Socialism." This widespread fantasy, which we single out from the plethora of other errors because it seems to be particularly seductive, must be attributed to a senseless and purely formal view of Bolshevism in its present form as Stalinism. It looks away from the fact from which one must not look away – from the substantial core of political rule in Soviet Russia. It is misled by the fact that Bolshevism is necessarily limited to % of the earth's surface, and confuses the territorial with the national, the national with the state. The territorial statism of the Soviet Union has not only nothing at all to do with a völkisch nationalism, but stands in conceivable violent opposition to it, in that it deliberately systematically eradicates all völkisch life of its own in the

area of Jewish comintern rule. Certainly, the Soviet Union as the basis of the Communist plans of world domination is secured and defended as far as possible, because here are the roots of power, here is the refuge of the international Communist revolutionaries and political criminals. "Stalinism" does not mean a renunciation of world revolution in the interests of a "national Russia"; rather, it means the expansion of the territory already occupied by the Comintern into a platform from which the struggle for world domination can be carried out more safely and with greater promise of success. National Socialism and Bolshevism oppose each other like fire and water – the one wants Volksgemeinschaft, the other the dictatorship of a "class", the one fights for the nation, the other for an "international proletariat". The present system in Russia is not "Russian national socialism" precisely because the power is not in the hands of Russians, but in the hands of Jews. Russia is ruled by an international Jewish clique, an agency of supranational powers, which never has in mind the life, honor and freedom of the subjugated peoples, but only its own power and economic interests. Thus it also becomes understandable that the Comintern seeks and finds close connections with the reactionary, Jewish-liberal, Jewish-Masonic, Jewish-capitalist and Jewish-Marxist groups throughout the world, that it is able to spin a web around every nation, woven of propaganda, gold and terror, conspiracy, treachery and crime, the threads of which converge in the hand of the Moscow clique.

The self-consciousness of the peoples, as it became a political reality in Germany, cannot be held back much longer by the propagandistic and agitational measures of the International and by the opiate of Judo-Marxism. The nations awake from unconsciousness, they find the way to themselves, to a kind of "völkisch democracy", just as the German people found the way to National Socialism. This powerful historical development can no longer be stopped; this idea will perhaps one day also flood the borders of the communist empire and wash away the rootless ruling clique which there looks after the interests of the international in the name of the "proletariat".

The author's merit is that he has taken a great step forward in the realization of these connections and this historical development; the most important task of the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question will be to deepen, represent and further disseminate this realization.

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Preliminary Note

The question of what role the Jews played in the Bolshevik October Revolution of 1917 and what part they have played in the Soviet leadership since then has not been studied with scientific precision. There are only, mainly Jewish, publications on the Jewish question in Russia and theoretical studies on Bolshevism and Jewry. If the question of the Jewish share in the Soviet leadership is raised, it is presented as normal. Yes, it was claimed that after the fall of Trotsky the share of Jews was limited to the post of People's Commissar for Posts and Telegraphs. An occasional stronger participation of the Jews in the Soviet power would find its explanation in the situation of the Jews in old Russia and in the general spread of socialist ideas in Jewry.

The author of the present study has undertaken, in two years' work, the first and so far the only attempt to ascertain with the greatest possible accuracy the actual proportion of Jews in the leadership of Bolshevism. The sources used were mainly Soviet and Jewish (Soviet and non-Soviet) literature: thus

the highest possible degree of objectivity was ensured.

Starting from the political, social and cultural situation of the Jews in old Russia, their role in the revolutionary movement and the Jewish share in the Bolshevik Party from its existence (1905) until today was systematically studied. In Soviet Russia, the real ruler is the Communist Party and, in particular, the supreme party apparatus. From its national composition emerges the share of the nationalities of the USSR, in the real power. The Soviets and their executive committees, even the largest ones, are merely a façade; therefore, even summary figures published by the Jewish side on the national composition of the supreme Soviet and party apparatus cannot give an accurate picture of the conditions in the real center of power.

Since there was no numerical data on the national composition of the supreme party apparatus, the nationality of each individual member – a total of more than 550 persons were examined – of the supreme party organs newly elected after each party congress was determined on the basis of the known lists of members.¹⁾ From this, the national composition and, with continuous examination, the dynamics of nationalities in the Bolshevik leadership were determined for a period of 30 years. Also studied were the Council of People's Commissars, the individual commissariats, the GPU, the supreme economic organs, and, as far as statistics were available, the Red Army command, the party's total membership, the state workforce, the association of the godless, etc. Special sections dealt with anti-Semitism and the results of the

social reorganization of the Jewish population.

In the cumbersome and time-consuming process of determining nationality, the use of aliases, common among Russian revolutionaries, also had to be taken into account. Determination of identity was made possible by numerous biographical publications of Soviet scientific institutes and central organizations containing accurate information and data about Russian revolutionary leaders. To check the nationality, samples were taken in such a way that data from two sources about one and the same person were compared. No discrepancies were found. If the nationality was not indicated in the literature and contradictory information was given by the persons interviewed, the nationality was left open.

The majority of the Jewish literature points in a tendentious one-sidedness to an allegedly only deplorable situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union: the Jews are allegedly the people who, of all the peoples of the USSR, are the worst off. Cases of anti-Semitic riots are cited and persecutions of Jews are reported. True as it is that there is a fierce anti-Semitism in Soviet Russia, the assertion that the situation of the Jews is merely deplorable does not correspond to the facts. We considered it another task of the present work to show this.

The nature and scope of the work meant that I had to enlist the support of a number of collaborators. I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to all of them, who made themselves available to me at all times and contributed significantly to the success of the work with their valuable information. I owe valuable information to the archives and library of the Eurasian Seminar at the German School of Politics.

I. Part

The Jews in Old Russia

The Preparation

The rupture of "Polish life"⁴⁴.

The Jews in Poland and Russia originated in Western Europe, largely in Germany, where they were expelled in the course of the 13th to 16th centuries. The three partitions of Poland at the end of the 18th century added its Jewish population to Russia. The change of rule meant for the Jews a great change in their economic, social and cultural situation, a complete break with the former "Polish life. Catherine II, in her efforts to create large commercial and trading centers, had established the estates of burghers and

merchants and decreed that all who wished to belong to these estates had to move from the counties to the cities. As a ruler of the Enlightenment, initially sympathetic to the Jews, the tsarina accepted them as equal members of the newly created estates and allowed their resettlement in the cities (1786).

Numerous Jews made use of the new rights, left the country and their old occupation and moved to the cities.

Under Polish rule, Jews had often been barred from the cities and from urban occupations. The Polish cities, which considered trade and handicrafts their privilege, had resisted Jewish competitors by all means. The wandering Jews, finding the gates closed, then flocked in large numbers to the flat countryside, where they were readily taken in by the large landowners. They leased land and various industries to the Jews, especially distilling brandy, which was one of their best sources of income. As land tenants, as tenants and owners of taverns, the Jews then became the intermediaries between landowners and peasants and the actual collectors of the peasant pennies. The large number of Jews in the counties and their economic methods had soon reached the point where they "undermined the prosperity of the peasants".

During the transition of these areas to Russia, the miserable situation of the peasants under Paul I was the occasion that brought the Jewish question to the fore for the first time in Russia. A special "Jewish Committee" was set up and charged with proposals for improving the situation of the peasants. After long preparatory work, the committee's work was reflected in the "Ordinance on the Jews" of December 9, 1804, which became an important basis for all subsequent Jewish legislation in Imperial Russia. The "Ordinance" established land rent, distilling and the sale of liquor (these occupations had been retained by the Jews who remained in the countryside) as a means of leeching and as a cause of pauperization of the peasants. The "harmfulness" of the Jews remaining in the counties was acknowledged and it was determined that the entire Jewish population should be expelled from the neglected areas in the course of three years. Because of its impracticability, however, the expulsion order was soon withdrawn, and everything remained as it was.

Similar measures recurred frequently throughout the 19th century and are characteristic of the insufficient attempts of the tsarist government to solve the Jewish question in a satisfactory manner. This also includes the Jewish colonization attempts in southern Russia, also begun by the government at the beginning of the previous century, which continued throughout the century with little success. By 1900 there were only 50,000 Jewish peasants in these colonies, a vanishing number in a population of over 5 million.²) Only the Soviet government began the land settlement of Jews on a large scale, but about that later.

The transition of the Jews to Russian rule also put an end to "Polish life" in the Jewish self-government. The Jews were pulled out of their closed existence under the administration of their Kahals, which were judicially and financially autonomous, and placed into the general Russian administration. The religious, inner life of the Jews remained unaffected; the rabbinate and the schools were still under the control of the kahals and were not controlled by the Russian government. The tsarina, however, insisted that the kahals were concerned with "no matters other than the usages of the laws and worship," and decreed that the kahals were deprived of their administrative and financial powers. In exchange, the status of merchants and tradesmen conferred on the Jews granted the broadest possible estates-urban self-government according to the Russian model.

A few years later the picture changed. The echo of the French Revolution reached the imperial chambers in St. Petersburg. Concerned about the stability of the throne, the tsarina takes a firmer grip on the reins of government. The ideas of the Enlightenment give way to sober considerations of state policy. Rights that had been granted were withdrawn, freedoms were restricted.

According to the Supreme Ukas of December 23, 1791, the "settlement area" (tscherta osedlosti) for the

Jews was created; in 1794 its borders were extended, and in 1804–1818 it was extended to Astrakhan and Bessarabia. It included a total of 15 governorates in the western and southwestern areas of the empire. From then on, the special laws of the cherta determined the life of the Jews in Russia, until the fall of tsarism swept these laws into oblivion as well.

According to these provisions, the Jews were not allowed to cross the borders of the settlement zone; they were forbidden to acquire land because of the associated ownership of Christian serfs, and membership in the municipal self-government was limited to one-third of the city councilors. (The latter provision applied to all non-Christian peoples in Russia).

It was not until the beginning of the 1940s that certain facilitations occurred. It was allowed to pass into the interior of the empire and to settle there permanently: Merchants I guild with their merchants and servants, academics, persons who had finished military service according to the "old regulations", and craftsmen. Temporarily allowed to leave the settlement area were: Craftsmen during their apprenticeship, merchants, a limited number of students, and trained pharmacists and medical assistants. However, Jews were still not allowed to stay in the two capitals or to acquire land.

But thanks to the venality of Russian officials, some Jews acquired extensive estates and others appeared in Petersburg and Moscow as early as Catherine's time. They penetrated to the court, even to the confessor of the Tsarina: "There have been three Jews or four in Petersburg for a long time" wrote the Tsarina, "I had a confessor with whom they live." 3) The Jew Peretz managed the affairs of Potemkin and later was on close terms with Kutaisov, the favorite of Paul I, and was a close friend of Speransky, the closest confidant of Emperor Alexander I.

Thus, if the Jewish exceptional laws allowed only relatively few Jews the way to central Russia and further economic advancement, there were practically always a lot of Jews in the empire, who owed their stay to the disloyal police. They all came to wealth, prestige and high influence.

The great mass of the Jewish population in the settlement area, on the other hand, led a politically and socially unequal and economically miserable existence. According to the census of 1897 (the last one in the old Russia), there were 5.11 million Jews living in the whole empire, who made up 4.1% of the total population. They were distributed among the

distributed as follows: 4) Settlement area (without Poland) 3,578,227

Poland 1 321 100

Baltic States and St. Petersburg 101875

Other European Russia 109 346

5 H O 598

In the area enclosed by the Duna, the Dnieper, the Black Sea and the former Russian western frontier – corresponding approximately to the boundaries of the settlement area – the Jews constituted about 10% of the total population of this area around 1900. In contrast, their share of the population outside the settlement zone did not exceed 1% in almost any governorate. 5) In the Cherchez Republic, they were concentrated in small towns and villages, whose high share of Jews in the total urban population, ranging from 30% to over 50%, sometimes even 75% and more, gave them the character of almost purely Jewish settlements.

What was the situation in these Jewish towns? A survey of the Jewish workforce in Russia in 1887 gave the following picture. There were employed: 6)

In commerce 38.65 per cent

In industry and trade 35.43 " "

In personal services, as day laborers 6.61 " "

In government and liberal professions 5.22 " "

In transport and traffic 3,98 " "

As farmers 3,55 " "

In the military 1,07 " "

Disposition and the exceptional laws determined this abnormal social composition. Almost three quarters of all Russian Jews made their living in trade and commerce. They are entrepreneurs, merchants, grocers, innkeepers, small and micro craftsmen, dawdlers. They are brokers, peddlers, usurers, artisanal and small industrial wage laborers. While 35% of the Jews were engaged in trade, only 3.9% of the non-Jews of Russia were merchants and traders.

Jewish handicraft was essentially a compulsory trade that had none of the pride of German or Italian craftsmen. Rather, it was a mass misery craft. As a result of pauperization and the tendency to lighter work, the Jews crowded the lighter trades and took each other's bread: thus 55.5 per cent of the Jewish craftsmen of the tsarist empire were tailors.

The Jewish "Bund".

Jewish radicalism, leading the movement of international socialism, found a favorable breeding ground in the social misery of the Jewish masses in the settlement area. Especially in the 80's of the last century, at the same time as the spread of socialism in Russia, an intensified agitation began among the Jews. In 1888, the first Jewish socialist organization was founded in Vilna, the spiritual center of the Jews. The revolutionary propaganda was able to tap into the general hatred of the Jewish population against the government, but in order to achieve a mass effect, a common class consciousness had to be awakened first. Joint action was alien to the Jewish merchants and tradesmen, because disadvantaged in competition by the exceptional laws compared to non-Jewish merchants and craftsmen, the Jewish petty bourgeoisie strove above all for free competition. It alone offered them the opportunity to fully develop their economic abilities, which allowed them to invent ever new forms of struggle for existence. The socialist idea triumphed only after the Jewish journeymen craftsmen and wage laborers had achieved the first improvement in working conditions through joint struggle. This socialism was moderate, petty-bourgeois in color, and close to the later Russian Menshevism⁷⁾. In Warsaw, Bjalostok, Lodz, Homel and other larger industrial centers, where numerous Jews lived as industrial workers in the midst of large Polish and Russian working-class masses, the Jews were supporters of Bolshevism, radical Marxism.

With the strengthening of the socialist movement among the Jewish proletariat, there arose the desire to found a separate Jewish party. Propaganda was to be conducted in Yiddish and adapted to the special conditions of Jewish life. For this, the Jews thought, the Russian workers' movement was not suitable and its supreme leadership was not expedient. Moreover, the demands for freedom of confession and equal rights were Jewish special demands whose vigorous representation could not be expected from the Russian movement. This, it was said, could only be done by an independent Jewish party.

Thus, in 1897, the "General Jewish Workers' Federation in Russia and Poland," known for short as the "Bund," was founded. Later it changed its name to the "General Jewish Workers' League in Lithuania, Poland and Russia" in accordance with the Jewish population residing most in Lithuania."

The "Bund" was well organized from the beginning and had among its members a numerous and politically very active intelligentsia. It was the main organizer of the merger, one year later, of the numerous Russian socialist

individual organizations into the "Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia" (SDAPR.) in 1898.⁸⁾

The founders of the party were:

Eideimann (non-Russian)⁹⁾, Petruszewitsch (?),

Vigdorshik (Jew), Radzhenko (Russian),

Tuchapsky (non-Russian), Mutnik (Jew), Vanovsky (Russian).

The last three from the "Bund". Thus, of the 9 founders of the party: 2 were Russians (22.2 percent), 4

were Jews (4.5 percent), and 2 were other non-Russians (22.2 percent).

The "Bund" secured an exceptional position in the party from the outset. It entered the SDAPR as an "autonomous unit" and was "independent in all questions specifically concerning the Jewish proletariat. As a component of the SDAPR, the "Bund" adopted its program, but retained for itself the right of independent implementation among its members.

The important position of the "Bund" within Russian Social Democracy is clear from the following sentences of Zinoviev:¹⁰)

"For two or three years it (the "Bund") was the most powerful and numerically strongest organization in our party. Even in the second half of the 1990s . . . the role of the 'Bund' in the party was very great. One need only point out that the main organizer of the first Congress of our Party in 1898 was the "Bund". And it was by no means a coincidence that this congress took place in Minsk, in a city of the Jewish settlement zone, in the area of activity of the "Bund". (Blocking H. F.) Also the leading Jewish Bolshevik Dimanstein confirms that the "Bund" had great influence, "so that Lenin was often forced to deal with it and its national policy. "¹¹)

The "Bund" was a Jewish nationalist party. The life of the Jewish population, tightly packed in towns and patches, was dominated by Orthodox and Zionist thought and served primarily to preserve Jewish tradition. As an autonomous unit of the SDAPR, committed to the implementation of its program, the "Bund" fought mainly for Jewish equality. It united semi-proletarian petty-bourgeois craftsmen and traders and the almost completely proletarianized intelligentsia growing up in these ranks. It was far more like a national-progressive petty-bourgeois party than a proletarian movement with an international socialist program: significantly, the word "socialist" was missing from its party name. Except for the revolutionary years of 1905-06, he was always an opponent of the Bolsheviks and close to the Mensheviks.

The emphatic pursuit of its own aims in its own language and its independent and leading position among the Russian Social-Democrats had raised the self-esteem of the Jews to such an extent that at the 4th Congress of the "Bund" (1901) the decision was taken to transform its position in the Social-Democratic Party into a federal relationship. To this decision had the victorious termination of the frictions with the neighboring PPS. (Polish Socialist Party) had given the final impetus. These incidents, characteristic of the relations between Poles and Jews, briefly consisted in the following:

The PPS, accusing the "Bund" of "Russifying Poland," fought for a free Poland, independent of Russia, and demanded of any revolutionary party that Poland be regarded as a territory not belonging to Russia. Neither to the present nor to a future Russian government had the PPS. to make any demand at all. It could not, therefore, have any common aims with any revolutionary party in Russia. If, it was said, the proletariat of all the foreign peoples of Russia is fighting for a democratic constitution of the Russian Empire, then the revolutionaries of all the foreign peoples of Poland must fight in the ranks of the PPS. for an independent Poland. But this also included the Jews, whose membership in the "Bund", as a component of Russian Social Democracy, was therefore allegedly unjustified. Consequently, the right to exist of organizations belonging to the "Bund" on Polish territory was also not recognized.

Now the Polish Jew does not feel any trace of Polish nationalism, which, moreover, is hostile to him; indeed, often he does not even know Polish! In a strong Poland the Jew would have to reckon with a strong anti-Semitism. The Russian Marxists were quite different: they were friendly to the Jews, and the "Bund" occupied an important position with them. A victory of the revolution could bring the fulfillment of all Jewish wishes. The "Bund" therefore firmly rejected all claims of the PPS. and even subjected their struggle for freedom to a scathing criticism.

In 1903, the 2nd Congress of the SDAPR took place. Carried by the utmost self-confidence, the "Bund" demanded at the Congress federal affiliation to the party and the division of the working class

according to nationalities. It also wanted to have a free hand in fundamental questions affecting the entire proletariat, since Jewish labor was "the proletariat of a fully valid people occupying its special position." The "Bund" should be regarded as the sole representative of the entire Jewish proletariat living in Russia."

Acceptance of the demand of the "Bund" would have resulted in the actual dissolution of the party. The Bolshevik faction of the SDAPR. therefore also opposed it with all its energy. "The proletariat," wrote Lenin, "by no means assumes to defend the national development of any nation ... on the contrary it welcomes any assimilation of nations except an assimilation by force or based on privilege." 12)

For Lenin, who had been concerned with the national question long before the world war, there was no national question in itself; it was a partial problem of the social revolution and could not be considered separately from the questions of the rule of capital, the struggle against imperialism, the proletarian dictatorship. Within this framework, for the sake of the greater goal of the liberation of the oppressed masses of all peoples, it was necessary to solve the national problem. When Lenin advocated the right of all peoples to full self-determination, he did not have in mind a division of the earth's surface into many sharply

separated states, but he strove for the rapprochement and fusion of all peoples into the largest possible, indeed earth-encompassing, federations and economic units. Theoretically, however, he demanded that this rapprochement should only take place on the "basis of freedom" of the individual peoples. Every oppression, however slight, of one people by another, every national privilege, must arouse resistance in the disadvantaged peoples, kindle a militant nationalism and destroy those conditions which alone make possible "a fraternal cooperation of all working people and their mutual support in the building of a new social order".

Lenin saw this militant nationalism in the "Bund", and he counted all Bundists among the little-respected sort of "nationalist petty bourgeois". He knew all the difficulties of the national problem, which would not cease to exist even after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and would perhaps then enter a completely new stage of development. Here the Jews should not oppose his plans for a new division of the world by demanding special rights once again. He saw the solution of the Jewish question in assimilation, in the complete absorption of the Jews into the great Slavic peoples surrounding them.

He did not recognize the Jews as a nation; for him they were only a caste. "It remains for the Bundists, for instance, only to work out the idea of a special nationality of the Russian Jews, whose language is the jargon and whose territory - the settlement area". 13 14) He considered "reactionary" not only the Zionists, the logical followers of Jewish nationalism, but also the Bundists, who tried to "unite this idea with the ideas of Social Democracy".

Lenin finally recognized in the separatist demands of the "Bund" a great danger to the unity and clout of his party. He demanded the sharpest unification of all forces and vigorously opposed all attempts at fragmentation. Only the consistent implementation of centralism offered a guarantee for the victory of the revolution. To the alleged fear of the "Bund", to be outvoted, he answered with the reference to the autonomy of 1898, which satisfied all demands of the Jews for the own implementation of the common social-democratic program. "But in all questions of struggle against autocracy and against the bourgeoisie of all Russia, we must proceed as a united, centralized fighting organization, relying on the entire proletariat without distinction of language or nationality." 18)

The "Bund," however, felt so strong that it insisted on its demands and, after their rejection by the Bolsheviks, a u s t r a t from the Social Democratic Party. After a temporary unification after the 1905 revolution at the 4th Party Congress of the SDAPR. (1906), where the "Bund" had its national autonomy reaffirmed, he entered into final opposition with the Bolsheviks. It completely joined the

Mensheviks and played an outstanding role there.

Some figures about the strength of the "Bund": in 1904 the "Bund" had 40 000 members. This number then decreased in the years of reaction that followed the revolution. But still at the 5th Party Congress of the SDAPR. (1907), out of a total of 305 delegates representing some 149,000 workers, the "Bund" accounted for 55 delegates with 25,000 or 16.8 per cent of all workers represented.^{15 16)} We shall return to the further development of the "Bund" on the occasion of the question of the Bolshevization of the Jewish masses after the October Revolution.

The channels.

The Jewish sociologist Ruppin says of the Jews that they "... by virtue of their great mental agility, they are almost by nature pointed to trade and industry as the most suitable economic playground for the exploitation of their abilities, and indeed they have achieved and are still achieving such conspicuous success in these occupations ... "15) Trade and industry were also the economic foundations of the Jews in the settlement area. The most intelligent and ruthless were the most economically successful, to them the borders opened. Having gained wealth and prestige, they then easily found their way to leading positions in the Russian political parties.

The Jews played a leading role in the capitalist development of the country. This is especially true of the Zartum Poland, where the great economic rise since 1863 would have been inconceivable without the Kronenbergs, Blochs, etc. But also in core Russia this Jewish acquisitiveness, which often could only operate illegally, became of great importance. Either in the upper strata of commerce and industry, where Jewry gained a very important position, especially with Witte's policy, or in the lower strata, where the Jew got by as a money and clothing merchant and made money at the expense of the local population. Against the economic superiority of the Jews in the upper classes, the hatred of the Russian population grew stronger and stronger.¹⁶⁾ The proverb went around: "You are poor because the Jews have taken everything from you. Often, anti-Semitism also had a religious basis: "The Jews crucified Christ, beat the Jews!" Inside the empire, the peasant knew neither Jews nor hostility to Jews. In contrast, the church, the bureaucracy, and the highest government circles were outspokenly hostile to Jews. Pogroms and persecutions of Jews were sometimes tolerated.

In their dealings with the authorities, the economic advancement of the Jews was greatly promoted by baptism. The Jew was hated less for his race than for his religion. At the time of baptism, the detour was made via the Lutheran church, i.e. the Jew first converted to Protestantism and from there to the Greek Orthodox church, because this eliminated the annoying note in the passport "formerly Mosaic" in dealings with the authorities. Also for reasons of economic advancement, the Jews "russified" their names so as not to be conspicuous by their un-Russian sounding names. Many Jews thereby outwardly converted to Russianness and felt flattered to be considered Russians. After the fall of the monarchy, when Jews received equal rights, ¹⁷ many of them then returned to Judaism and also publicly identified themselves as Jews.

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The second way out of the settlement area into the interior and into the leadership positions of the Russian parties was through the universities and colleges. The rush of Jews to the educational institutions was already very strong in the secondary schools. Thus E. von Stern reports that during his teaching activity in Odessa, which belongs to the settlement area, in 1886 in a class of 40 pupils only 4 were present during the Jewish holidays. In the universities there were over 50 per cent (!) Jewish students in a population ratio of about 10 per cent in the settlement area; "a restless element that stood out at every political demonstration".¹⁸⁾ The government then took action against the Jewish agitators and troublemakers, and in 1887 set maximum numbers for the Jews in the schools and universities. Jews were allowed to enter 10 percent of the high schools in the settlement area, 5 percent in the border

governorates, and 3 percent in the Moscow and Petersburg teaching districts; the same numbers applied to the universities.

Since the numerus clausus in the cities of the settlement area was significantly lower than the proportion of Jews in the total urban population, only a limited number of Jews could attend the educational institutions. For this reason, the Jews have always complained about the "gagging" of their educational urge. These complaints were not always justified, for the maximum percentages of Jews attending the educational institutions in the settlement area corresponded to the population ratio of the Jews in this area and in the two capitals were only slightly below the percentage of Jews in the total population of the Reich (4.1 per cent).¹⁹ Later, the numerus clausus for the secondary schools was increased even further and special regulations were enacted to make it easier for the pharmacists and related technical schools; for this reason, numerous Jewish revolutionaries were former medical assistants, dental technicians and the like.

Among the Jewish students, a kind of Darwinian selection was practiced: the most capable advanced, played a leading role in the student body, and attained brilliant positions as physicians and lawyers. Shortly before the outbreak of the war, admission to the universities was determined by lot. The others waited, not wanting to become manual workers or return to their parents' store. Increasingly, they showed themselves amenable to revolutionary sentiments. Von Stern reported:¹⁰

"They cared that the universities were not at rest, they fomented behind the scenes and were the masterminds in every student coup. They translated anarchist or socialist pamphlets, as needed, and found a favorable field of activity for their dissemination."

Through the schools and universities, the Jewish revolutionary spirit made its way into the Russian intelligentsia and the working class. Jewish intellectuals and the numerous Jewish non-students, the "semi-intellectuals," penetrated as agitators into the socialist parties and into the leadership of the revolution. The well-known Jewish Bolshevik R a f e s makes the following significant admission:^{20 21} "The hatred of tsarism against the Jews was justified because the government found Jewish revolutionaries among the most active members in all revolutionary parties (blocking H. F.), beginning with the 60s."

The same observation was made by v. Bothmer, a member of the German Diplomatic Mission in Moscow in the summer of 1918:²²

"The Jewish intelligentsia therefore became here even more than in other countries the leader of the socialist and revolutionary parties. Criticism and decomposition, agitation and subversion were the occupation and aim of the secret organizations. . . ."

Jewish revolutionaries were in all Russian democratic and socialist parties, from the Cadets²³ to the Bolsheviks i. . . And always they were strongest in the leadership in terms of numbers and influence. Their share in the leadership was on average 5 to 10 times as strong as in the party mass. There were significant Jewish leaders among the cadets: Winawer, Grusenbergs, Jollos, Hesse, Herzenstein and others.

Among the old Narodniki: Bramson, Nathanson, etc.

Among the Mensheviks: Martov (Zederbaum), Trotsky (Bron-stein),²⁴ Dan (Gurwitsch), Martynov, Liber (Goldmann), Abramovich (Rein), Gorew (Goldmann) and others.

Among the internationalists: Steklov (Nachamkes), Sukhanov (Himmer), etc.

Among the social revolutionaries: Gotz, Bernstein, Bunakov (Fundaminski), Ruthenberg and others.

Among the Left Social Revolutionaries: Kapelinski, Ehrlich, Linde, Steinberg, Proshyan, Schlichter, Schreider and others.

Among the Bolsheviks:²⁵ Borodin (Grusenbergs), Frumkin, Goloshchekin, Hanecki (Fürstenbergs),

Yaroslavsky (Gubelmann), Kamenev (Rosenfeld), Lazhevich, Litvinov (Wallach), Lyadov (Mandelstamm), Radek (Sobelsohn), Zinoviev (Radomyslsky), Sokolnikov (Brilliant), Sverdlov, and others. In 1911, at the Bolshevik school in Longuejumeaux near Paris, out of 12 teachers, the following 6 are Jews: Steklov (Nachamkes), Ryazanov (Goldendach), Davidson, Rappaport, Zinoviev and Kamenev.^{24 a)}

Among the political exiles there were numerous Jews and Jewesses; they were also among the terrorists: among the assassins of Minister Plehve was the Jew Sikorski, the Odessa police master was shot by the Jew Stillmann, another fired the shots at the police master of Mohiljow. But in general, the complicity of the Jews in the assassinations was limited; their real field of activity was the leadership of the organizations and the agitation and propaganda in writing and speech. In these places, especially in the leadership of all revolutionary parties, the Jews played a quite outstanding role and exercised a decisive influence on their comrades.

About the scope and extent of the revolutionary movement among the Jews in the settlement area, especially about the significant role of the Jews as leaders in the entire workers' movement there, the following report gives an extremely graphic picture. The report was prepared by the Central Bureaus of the Jewish Sections of the CPR.²⁶⁾ and the CPU.²⁷⁾ and submitted to the CC. of the CPR. at the end of 1919. The report states:²⁸⁾

"In the course of the 25-year development of the revolutionary movement, in the western area (excluding Poland), the Jewish workers were the only revolutionary element (blocking H. F.) ... the Jewish ... Workers' Movement ... seized ... during the revolutionary period almost all the little towns and spots. It was therefore natural that in all the western and southwestern governorates the leaders of the Jewish labor movement placed themselves at the head of the revolutionary organizations, both proletarian (soviets, trade associations) and democratic. Even in the peasant congresses and soviets and in the district administration the influence of Jewish socialists was not small."

*

Then, when the 1905 Revolution really broke out, when the political associations, leaflets and newspapers just shot out of the ground, the Jews were everywhere in the forefront "as the most extreme and radical leaders of the revolution." ²⁸⁾ According to von Stern, it is an "established fact that in the 1905 Revolution the leadership and guidance was mainly in the hands of the Jews ...". Not only in the centers of the settlement array, but also in the interior, in the Baltic States, and in the capitals. In Riga the president of the Revolutionary Committee was a Jew; in Libau the Jew S. Nachimson played the leading role. Trotsky, as successor to the colorless Khrustalev-Nossar, was the chairman of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies and thus, in effect, one of the main leaders of the revolution. An impressive picture of the mood is sketched by the well-known Russian Duma deputy V. Schulgin in his memoirs about the revolutionary period:**)

"The mob, in which the Jews were particularly noticeable, poured into the meeting hall (of the town hall) and in unbridled fury tore up all the portraits of the tsars hanging on the wall. The eyes of several emperors were gouged out, and all kinds of mockery were made of others. A red-haired Jewish student broke through the portrait of the reigning tsar with his head, and with the torn canvas on his shoulders, he shouted as if in a rage: 'Now I am the tsar!'

But the tsar's throne still withstood the powerful onslaught of the first revolutionary wave. The revolution broke at the bayonets of the guard regiments. What followed were punitive expeditions and executions. The Jews were exposed as the main ringleaders. The end was pogroms.

The spiritual origin.

Why were the Jews in Russia so numerous in all the socialist parties and why were they among the most active elements in the leadership of the revolution?

First of all, it is the special situation of the Jews in Russia. The tsarist Jewish policy in the settlement area, which hindered the Jews' acquisitive and 29 30 educational urges, did everything to encourage the Jew's inclination toward materialism and radicalism. Even under Alexander III, a commission found that, except for a thin upper class in the interior, the Jewish population of Russia was an almost propertyless mass. One could not wish for better ground for the Zionism of the "Bund", or even for the revolutionary movement in the country itself. This became even more dangerous because, as we already know, the harsh legislation was practically riddled with holes and a lot of Jews were constantly staying in the empire. Thus a wild hatred against the existing regime grew up, and Jewry had prepared itself more and more for a revolution. The "Bund", along with the Polish Social Democracy, had contributed the most to revolutionizing the working class.

But it would be quite insufficient to cite the position of the Jews under exceptional laws, the social misery of the masses and the persecution by the government as the only reasons. Rather, things lie much deeper.

The Jewish revolutionaries belonged to the Jewish assimilationists. The members of these circles had distanced themselves from Orthodox and traditional Judaism, nor had they attended a Jewish religious school, but rather had acquired their education in a secular school. Because of the restrictions on Jewish admissions, they had often acquired this education outside the educational institutions and then passed the examination as "externs". It was precisely from the circles of those externs of all levels, who were able to cross the borders of the settlement area with the help of various diplomas, that most of the Jewish educated and semi-educated came. These elements of the Jewish people had lost the cultural content of ancient Judaism, but at the same time remained alien not only to Russian culture, but to any culture in general. In contrast to Western Europe, where the assimilation of the Jews to their environment, albeit on the outside, has been going on since the French Revolution, there could be no question of any significant assimilation in Russia. Only a vanishing upper class had approached Russianness since the introduction of the facilitations in the exceptional laws. And even this happened only on the surface; baptisms were very rare and were performed only, as mentioned, mostly to facilitate economic advancement.

This spiritual emptiness, hidden under the veneer of European civilization, therefore made the Jews, who were already inclined to materialism as a result of their employment in trade and commerce, extremely receptive to subversive and subversive political ideas. These circles contained, besides some who believed in the irrefutable truth of Marxism or Lenin's interpretation, numerous elements who, because of their cultural loss, were waiting for the revolution merely as a tremendous opportunity to exercise unlimited powers.

In addition, there was the rationalistic way of thinking, which was pronounced among the Jews, and which made them particularly amenable to Marxist ideas. However, in the attempt to introduce communism while ignoring all the imponderables of life, the rationalist element revealed itself with particular clarity. Lewin, a former notable Jewish leader aptly gives the context when he says,³⁰ that it was

"... is, of course, no accident that the Jews, who are so inclined to think rationally, who in their majority are not connected by any traditions with the environment, who rather see in these traditions only a useless, even a harmful junk hindering the development of mankind – it is no accident, let us say, that the Jews were so close to the revolutionary ideas."

For the same reasons, the well-known Jewish scholar Brutzkus states,⁸¹ that one should not "the active participation of certain groups of Jewish intelligentsia and so-called semi-intelligentsia in the dramatic and horrific events of the Communist Revolution must not be regarded as an accidental phenomenon."

We finally find an excellent characterization of this type in Jakob Klatzkin, an outstanding personality of Jewry. Klatzkin writes about the Jewish assimilants: 32)

"In the first stages of assimilation they are a damage not only to their ancestral body of the people, to Judaism, from which they do not completely detach themselves; they are also a damage to the body of the people into which they strive to integrate themselves in a dominating manner. They often cloud the sources of foreign culture, flatten them, even if they seem to drill deeply into them; they violate their originality, stunt their primordiality."

"They mostly play on the surface or they become dismemberers, rummagers, biting grumblers; their strength – mocking and irony. A smug smarting, a cerebral all-understanding. Above things, a beside or under, not a within, not a growing together. . . ."

". . . They, the Jewish assimilants, are fond of being cosmopolitans: bottomless, do they not feel the secret powers of the

ao) J. Bickermann, J. Lewin et al, *The Upheaval in Russia and the Fate of the Russian Jews*, Berlin 1925, p. 182.

81) B. Brutzkus, *Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Lage der Juden in Rußland vor und nach der Revolution*, in: *Archiv für Sozial Wissenschaften*, Tübingen 1929, vol. 61, p. 266.

3S) J. Klatzkin, *Probleme des modernen Judentums*, Berlin 1930, p. 196 f, national genius. They like to be mediators between the multiform national cultures; minglers who disregard the power of organic unity; boorish souls who do not know the consecration of the unique and one-time. They are polyglots, versatile, ambiguous . . . they are at home nowhere and everywhere . . ."

"They like to be the radicals and the most modern among the moderns, they like to be negators, reevaluators, subversives: naked souls, bankrupts who have lost their national property, intellectual proletarians – they find no rest, the rings torn loose from the historical chain. Their idealism always has an evil suspicion: it is easy for the rootless to be free in the face of the existing, to be apostles of freedom, to be zealous against something. Their virtues, too, bear the birthmark of vice."

"If they, the assimilationists, still have a breeding ground in Judaism, they can cause nothing but confusion; the view is bipartite. They invent, the assimilators, relations between disparities of essence, pair the unmatchable, couple Judaism with Germanism, Judaism with Francoism, and the like. They do violence to both parts, mutilate both Judaism and Germanism or Frenchism or another –tum."

". . . The Jewish assimilationists will be called to account, not only by the Jewish people, but also by the other peoples. They sin against the national structure of the foreign cultural entities, falsify their historical signature, the national seal of the soul, by a falsified, de-Judaized Judaism; they falsify twofold. They blur the borders, because in their soul all borders are blurred. And it is the sacred duty of peoples to watch over the demarcations of their individuality."

Klatzkin's masterful characterization of the Jewish assimilationist is at the same time train for train – the mirror image of the typical Jewish revolutionary socialist leader.

The Jewish socialist leaders in Russia were Jewish assimilants. They were as much outside of national Jewry as far from Russianness. They had no cultural content, they stood between peoples and between cultures. They were without affiliation to the beating pulses of the nations and without connection to the sources of their culture. Alone accessible to all international movements, they were the driving force of all currents that did not water the roots of nations, but wanted to wash their parts together into artificial entities.

That is why the enormous movement of the Russian people was nothing to the Jewish assimilationists but the sought-after field of activity for their constructions alien to the earth and an immense possibility for the satisfaction of their unrestrained hunger for power which overgrew all instincts. . .

The Jewish socialist leaders were subversives and revaluers of all values and destroyers of all orders of the

peoples. All organic ties were abhorrent to them at the bottom of their hearts, all structure based on natural laws was repugnant to them in their innermost being. This Jewish spirit hated everything that was built in itself, everything that had grown in annual rings, and that is why it destroyed it. But they could not overthrow the existing order. That is why they penetrated into the finest channels of the Russian national body, eavesdropped on its secrets and put its strength to their service. They penetrated into the great movement of the Russian people struggling for its freedom, obtained its leadership and misused it for their own benefit and the Russian people's harm.

*

But also the Jewish bourgeoisie itself had significantly aided the growth of revolutionary ideas in Russia. This has never been denied by true and responsible Jews. According to Landau 31) the Jews played an outstanding role in Russian economic life and at the same time supported the revolutionary and socialist parties. As everywhere, they gave simultaneously constructive and destructive forces to the bourgeois world:32)

"How many participants in hyper-bourgeois undertakings there were, who, with tooth and nail, snatched for themselves very bourgeois profits for their principals and clients, that is, also for themselves, sometimes profits which were not faultless from the bourgeois point of view, while at the same time they were members of the revolutionary organizations or sympathized with them."

Basically, according to Landau, these Jewish citizens were also upstarts from Orthodox Lithuanian and Polish spots, who had often reached the interior of the country in an unimpeachable manner and had come into money and prestige. Renegades from their cultural tradition and strangers to Russian culture, the Jews lived on the ruins of their way of life with newly acquired outward habits. They had no consolidated life force in them and, as the lawless, felt only darkly attracted to the ideology of the oppressed and degraded. In bourgeois society, socialism had gradually gained a significant position with the rejection of the existing state and the contempt of bourgeois culture. At the same time, the whole socialism was only a grafted movement, which directly contradicted the purely mercantile interests of the Jewish bourgeoisie.

Living thus without any inner basis of existence, they offered no attraction to their children either, and were then not surprised at the spread of revolutionary ideas among them. Often they were even proud of it, at best indifferent. The result – the ranks of the socialists were crowded with Jews . . .

There remains one last question to be answered. Now, did the Jews, as predominantly employed in trade and commerce, also want Bolshevism, the mortal enemy of private capital? If not, how did it come about that the Jews also occupied a predominant position among the leaders of the Bolsheviks?

From the Jewish side it is said that the active participation of the Jews in all socialist parties sufficiently explains also their leading role in Bolshevism. As well as there were numerous Jewish leaders in all socialist parties, so also in the Bolsheviks. There was therefore no special inclination of the Jews to Bolshevism, and all assertions to that effect were nothing but bloodless constructions. On the contrary, as merchants the Jews were opponents of the radical socialization plans of the Bolsheviks.

First of all, it is true that the majority of Russian Jewry, especially the largest Jewish party, the "Bund," was merchant, Jewish-national and non-Bolshevik-minded. They wanted first of all free development of their private capitalist interests, to which Lenin's teachings directly contradicted. In the revolutionary movement, therefore, the Jews took a leading part primarily in the ranks of the more moderate socialist parties.

But the assertion that the general spread of socialist ideas in Russian Jewry as a result of their special situation and their inclination to materialism and rationalism sufficiently explains their leading role in Bolshevism – this assertion is far from sufficient for explanation and leaves the most essential unsaid. Above we had explained for what reasons the revolutionary movement had found such a strong spread

among the Jews in the first place. But the final reason for this, as well as for the outstanding share of Jews in the leadership of all socialist parties, is given only by the following. It is at the same time the key to understanding the leading role of the Jews in Bolshevism.

First: if the Jews had a strong position in the leadership of all the socialist parties, they were also leaders in the whole revolutionary movement.

Secondly, if they occupied a broad position in all key positions of the revolutionary front already during the preparatory period, they maintained it both in the revolution itself and after the revolution.

And to reach this position of power was the goal of the Jews.

The Jews of all parties and strata hated tsarism and wanted the revolution. But how the Russian revolution, which inevitably had to come, would run out, no one knew. In order to influence its course in their favor, the Jews had taken a broad and firm place in the leadership of all parties, which they owed to their drive for power, their political agility and their unscrupulousness. In accordance with their intellectual outlook and social affiliation, they were in the party that represented the revolution in their environment and whose strength and methods seemed to them most promising for the victory of the revolution.

Above all, it was the assimilated Jewish intelligentsia and semi-intelligence, the members of the actually revolutionary Jewish leadership class, who occupied numerous leading positions in all socialist parties.

And it was these positions that mattered; whoever was in command here could exert a decisive influence on the course of events. That is why the percentage of Jewish revolutionaries in the leadership of all parties was always many times greater than in the party mass.

Only towards the Bolsheviks did the majority of the Jews, especially the orthodox and traditionally loyal national Jews, take a negative attitude. Their mercantile interests probably permitted participation in moderate socialism – they knew it would never be dangerous to them – but from the enemies of private capital

and of the exploitation of man by man, the Jews could not expect any promotion of their economic activity.

This does not mean, however, that there were no Jews in the leadership of the Bolsheviks. On the contrary, they were even very strongly represented there since the existence of the party and exercised a great influence. It was the most radical elements of the Jewish assimilated intelligentsia and semi-intelligence and the radical working class who had sided with the Bolsheviks from the beginning. They were those whose mental outlook corresponded to the most radical form of the type of Jewish revolutionary leader described above. In other words, they were those who, according to their spiritual outlook, could only be

in the world of the most radical Marxism. To them, only Bolshevism offered the possibility of realizing their ideas, and the way the world appeared to them, it could only be shaped by Bolshevism. These circles had relied on the Bolsheviks as those who offered them the greatest prospects for the execution of their own nation-destroying constructions and for the exercise of their monstrous claims to power.

Now how did it happen that Jewry, in spite of its merchant nature, nevertheless came to power precisely through Bolshevism and still possesses it to an overwhelming degree today?

It is the will to power, it is the .

. life-affirming determination of the Jews which drives them to adapt to the alien environment and to gain a strong position in it.⁶⁴³⁵)

Their enormous vitality, their tremendous will to live, preserved through the millennia, showed them the way here as well. They adapted to the new world created by the Bolsheviks and, with the help of their Bolshevik tribesmen, sought to "gain a strong position" in it.

When the Tsarist monarchy collapsed after the February Revolution of 1917, the Jews were finally

granted equal rights by the Provisional Government. This opened all avenues to wealth, prestige and rule for them. They were therefore among the strongest supporters of the government and fought Bolshevism, the enemy of private capital, with all means at their disposal.

But when in the following epoch "Kerensky" the Bolsheviks gained more and more followers and it seemed as if they were the coming power – the Jews, especially their intelligentsia and semi-intelligence went over to the Bolsheviks in droves. In the late summer of 1917, a frightening number of Jews appeared among the Bolshevik leaders. They left their old parties and defected to the coming ones, adapting and changing positions. They sensed the future power and rushed to secure a wide place in it in time. Especially in the leadership, because that was what mattered. Now the Bolsheviks seemed to be the rulers of tomorrow, now they had to occupy the top positions in order to be as prepared for everything that was to come as they had been before the first revolution. Now the Bolsheviks brought the new revolution, the new time. Now it was Lenin who turned the wheel of history further and created new conditions, new constellations. The revolution is dead, long live the revolution.

35) J. Klatzkin, p. 59.

At first, the Jews had not reckoned with the Bolsheviks, they thought they could neglect them. Now it was they who were questioning all the gains of the March Revolution, all the finally achieved possibilities of economic advancement, influence and rule.

So they adjusted themselves to the new situation: if the capitalist way to rule was blocked, in Russia the Bolshevik way offered it. For there, too, their tribesmen were in the front line, and the Bolshevik world revolution offered immense possibilities for the establishment of their rule. The Jews in Western Europe held the international positions of power in the capitalist camp – in Russia they could gain the same position in the socialist one. Their tenacious will to live demanded a "strong position" – Bolshevism offered it to them. If the other parties had played out, if the revolutionary development had gone beyond them, if the Bolshevik power had brought the new era, they now aligned themselves with it, so that they could win power in time.

Their indestructible will to assert themselves made them adapt to the new situation and also to establish themselves in the leadership in it under all circumstances. Even under the new order, at the expense of others, to maintain the place they had already won. Not to leave the decision to the others, to the Russians, but to maintain themselves in the lead even in the new power and to direct the revolutionary current to their advantage. They had only to follow their radical elements, their tribesmen, who already held a powerful position among the Bolsheviks and who, following their strong sense of belonging together, in their turn cleared the way for the others...

Thus it was only a natural consequence that in the October days Jewish elements took the most active part in the overthrow; and no sooner had the Bolsheviks really come to power than

"... the mass of the urban Jewish intelligentsia and semi-intelligence threw themselves into the stream of revolt "36) (blocking H. F.).

and from the former settlement area the others followed. –

The materialistic and rationalistic way of thinking of the Jews makes them particularly accessible to materialistic political views, thus also to Bolshevism. But not only for this reason. But not only for this reason, but just as the Jews were the inventors of international socialism, so the Jews have always remained its 33 34

representatives and propagators. The extent to which Jewry and international socialism are in fact interlinked has rarely been expressed so convincingly as by one of the most important leaders of Marxism himself.

In 1890 Friedrich Engels wrote :35 36)

"Besides, we owe far too much to the Jews. To say nothing of Heine and Börne, Marx was of stock

Jewish blood; Lassalle was a Jew. Many of our best people are Jews. (Blocking H.F.) My friend Victor Adler, who is now atoning for his devotion to the cause of the proletariat in prison in Vienna, Eduard Bernstein, the editor of the London Social Democrat, Paul Singer, one of our best Reichstag men, - people of whose friendship I am proud and all Jews! (Blocking H. F.) After all, I myself have been made a Jew by the "Gartenlaube," and indeed, if I had to choose, I would rather be a Jew than "Herr von! . Why this concatenation? As administrators and spreaders of materialistic-socialistic ideas, the Jews are sure to rule over the masses led by these ideas. And he who leads the masses has the power. And that is what the struggle is about.

Unlike other peoples who can follow their urges to rule by forming their own states, the Jews lack this field of activity. They have no state of their own in which they could rule and never will have one, since they are predominantly a nation of merchants and intellectuals and can never exist on their own. At the same time their sense of state is in inverse proportion to their urge to rule: a complete lack of sense of state is counterbalanced by an unrestrained hunger for power, which must necessarily be in opposition to the governments of the host states and reach across the borders of the individual states.

Since the Jews are always dependent on the exploitation and utilization of the labor of others and have no state-forming powers whatsoever, they can follow their urge to rule only within the other peoples. They do this by spreading the ideas of materialism and rationalism and transforming the living life of the nations into a "progress" governed by exclusively material laws. The masses, inclined to place the material above the spiritual, thus come under the domination of these ideas and; their promulgators - the Jews. Through the domination of their ideas, the Jews rule.

Dostoevsky wrote already in 1887, one must point out the strong domination of the Jews in Western Europe,

"... where they have replaced many earlier ideas with their own."

The great seer also foresaw the approach of Jewish domination, the domination of Jewish ideas over the whole of Europe. What was coming appeared to him as a vision of immense magnitude and depressing gloom:39)

"... It approaches their empire, their sole rule! There begins the unrestricted rule of their ideas, before which wither the feelings of humanity, the thirst for truth, Christian and national feelings, and even the feelings of national pride of the European nations."

... In Russia, people wanted revolution. Since the days of the Decembrists, Russia's best sons from all classes had bled for the liberation of the fatherland from the evils of autocracy. The Jews intervened in this liberation struggle of the Russian people and left their mark on it by the predominance of their ideas. Since they had an outstanding share in the spread and implementation of these ideas, they came to power through Bolshevism itself.

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In the following we give a numerical overview of the share of Jews in the leadership of the Bolsheviks from the independent existence of the party until the seizure of power (1903-1917). The period thus covers the illegal or semi-legal period of the party.

The leadership of the "Social Democratic Workers' Party of Russia (Bolsheviks)" was held by the CC. (Central Committee), which was usually newly elected after each party congress. The CC. which had originally been at the head of the party as a whole, became the party center of the Bolsheviks after the split of the party in August 1903 into "Bolsheviks" and "Mensheviks". The leading center of the Mensheviks became the OC. (Organizing Committee).

The following table shows the national composition of the CC. for the period mentioned, determined according to the method mentioned in our introduction. *) 37 38

National composition of the Central Committee of the SDAPR. (b)

(1903-1917)
Year
Party Congress
Members
Candidates
Together
Among
them:

Russians
Jews
Other non-Russians

Members
Candidates
Together
Members
Candidates
Together
Members
Candidates
Together

abs.
| abs.
abs.
[v. H.
abs.
| [v. H.
abs.
| [v. H.
abs.
| v. H.
abs.

v. H.

abs.

| v. H.

abs. v. H.

abs.

| v. H.

1903

2.

9

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9

4

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–

4

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1

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1

11,1

2

22,2

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2

22,2

1905

3.

5

–

5

4

80

–

–

4

80

1

20

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1

20

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-

1906

4.

31)

-

3

2

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2

66,6

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33,3

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1907

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1912

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First, we can see from the compilation that the Jews represented in the Central Committee of all party congresses have an exceptionally high share in the total number of members of the Central Committee. This proportion varies between 11.1 and 41.2 per cent. On the average for the years 1903-1917 it amounts to 32.6 per cent; that is, in this period the Jews constituted on the average almost one third] of the total number of the Bolshevik Party leadership. All other non-Russian foreign peoples together - among them the Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Armenians and others as the most politically active - had to be content with an average share of 14 per cent.

Among the members of the Central Committee alone³⁹⁾ the proportion of Jews is even higher: 11.1 to 50 %! On average for the period 1903-1917, 9 per cent.

Jews were elected as candidates to the Central Committee only twice, after the 5th and 6th Party Congresses. In these two cases, however, the Jewish share was extraordinarily high: 41.6 and 50 percent of all CC candidates elected at these congresses were Jews.

Since the Jews constituted 4.1 per cent of the total population of Russia, they were, on the average, eight times more represented among all the members of the Central Committee during the illegal or semi-

legal period of the Bolshevik Party than corresponds to their population ratio.

The Jews were not only numerically very strongly represented in the party leadership, but among the Bolshevik leaders they occupied a position of the very first rank, and their names are among the best known in the Bolshevik Party.

The transition period.

At the end of 1916, Russia was in a state of disintegration. Continuous and heavy defeats on the fronts, caused by constant shortages of ammunition, inadequacies and incapacities in leadership, serious failures in supply as a result of organizational errors, mismanagement and war profiteering, growing revolutionary propaganda had completely demoralized the army. The soldiers were simply fed up with the war and deserted in bright heaps. The army's failures, the irresponsible and pleasure-seeking activities in the highest circles, Rasputin's unclear role at court, and finally growing inflation and food shortages had embittered the population to the highest degree. Severe labor unrest, strikes and food riots began. When the military was called in to support the police, the troops refused to fire and sided with the revolution: the fate of the tsarist monarchy was sealed, and on March 12 (February 27 a.d.), 1917, the 300-year-old throne of the Romanovs collapsed.

The revolution was joyfully welcomed by Jews of all party affiliations: at last the road to civil and political equality had been cleared. The law on the abolition of Jewish exemptions appeared as early as April 3, 1917.⁴⁰ The majority of Jewry backed the Provisional Government and worked feverishly to "deepen the revolution". A return of the former conditions, they knew from the experience of 1905, would inevitably have ended with a giant pogrom.

From the first day, the Jews were in the front line of the revolution. In the Reich Duma, the Executive Committee of the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies had established itself as a subsidiary government. To the negotiations with the "Reichsduma Committee," which formed the government until a new cabinet was assembled, there appeared on March 1 (a. St.), that is, on the third day of the revolution, as representatives of the Executive Committee: N. Sokolov (Russian), Steklov (Jew) and Sukhanov (Jew).⁴¹ Among the 42 members of the Executive Committee of the Workers' Council in March 1917, 9 were Jews (21.4 per cent).⁴² Among the 30 members of the Executive Committee of the first Peasants' Soviet (May 20-July 17, 1917), 7 were Jews (23 per cent).⁴³ Significantly, there were only 2 workers in the leadership of the Workers' Council and only 3 peasants in the leadership of the Peasants' Soviet!

In the transitional period, which is linked to the names of Lyvov, Milyukov and Kerensky, the political structure of Russian Jewry was approximately as follows:

The law of April 3, which abolished all Jewish exemptions and placed the Jews on an equal footing with all other nations of Russia, opened the way for them to the broadest political activity: all previously barred professions were now open to them. From this time on, a great Jewish influx began into all professions and into all public life in Russia. Jews were elected to the Senate, a Jew became commander of Petrograd, numerous Jews entered the army, and many were elected to the reorganized magistrates and city councils in the province. They developed a lively activity in all the professions that had hitherto been barred.

The Jews, who had obtained equal rights through their influence with the Provisional Government, were therefore in the majority with the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries (in both parties the Jews played a leading role) among the strongest pillars of the government. Broad circles of Jewry were very much interested in their permanent existence.

On the occasion of Jewish equality, many bourgeois Jewish elements, who now reappeared as Jews, returned from the Russian parties to the Jewish ones. The growth of the bourgeois element was particularly strong in the "Bund," which then turned its political course sharply to the right and backed

the government. For many members of the "Bund," the Equal Rights Act meant the fulfillment of their most prominent demands. The support of the government went so far that the Bund, as the governing party, also opposed the granting of the independence demanded by Finland and Ukraine, although at the time the Bund had left the SDAPR precisely because its demands for national independence had not been met. Its private capitalist interests even led the Bund to declare the most radical revolutionary party, the Bolsheviks, "enemies of the revolution."

But under the influence of the rightward swing of the "Bund" and the Bolshevik propaganda that began sharply just in the summer of 1917, numerous Jewish proletarian and intellectual elements left the "Bund" and joined the Bolsheviks. This influx was so strong that in the elections to the Constituent Assembly all Jewish socialist parties suffered substantial defeats.

In general, Bolshevism was particularly successful among certain circles of Jews, especially in the revolutionary year 1917. In the industrial centers of the Ukraine (Vasilskiye, Boguslav, Kameny Brod, etc.) the Jewish workers and semi-proletarians had gone over to the Bolsheviks en masse; in the soviets of the army and in the large tailors' and shoemakers' workshops working for army supplies, the number of Jewish Bolsheviks increased with each passing day. The association of tailors, which was under Jewish leadership, was purely Bolshevik. Particularly large was the increase in Jewish educated and semi-educated people, the real Jewish revolutionary leadership class. They were, above all, the thousands of Jews who had been deported by the government during the war to the large cities of the settlement area or to the interior and east of the empire and to Siberia. It remained for these elements to play a decisive role in the coming overthrow.

What importance the Jewish revolutionary leaders already had and what a prominent position they already occupied in the leadership of the masses, emerges convincingly from the following statement of an eminent former Zionist leader in Russia. To emphasize that the Jewish revolutionaries came from the circles of assimilated Jews and as revolutionary leaders did not represent the interests of national Jewry, Pasmanik says: 48)

". . . they (the Jewish revolutionaries) represented only the exponents of Russian power, they were its interpreters and its representatives." (Blocking H. F.)

But that is just it: in this sentence the leadership of the Jews in the Russian Revolution is already put forward as a matter of course – the assimilated Jews did not represent the interests of national Jewry, but they were already "merely" the leaders of the Russian masses. The Jews are already the indicators, the marks of the Russian movement, the expression of the Russian revolutionary will, the image of the Russian revolution! The millions of Russian peasants are "represented" by Jewish newspaper writers and healers. By members of a people who practically owned no land and had never had a closer and lasting connection with the soil and the peasantry, neither in Russia nor elsewhere in the world.

The Jews already represent the Russian revolution to such an extent that they could be represented even by a Jew as the "interpreters," the word-leaders of the Russian movement.

The Bolsheviks seize power.

In the summer of 1917, the Bolshevik preparations for armed insurrection entered the decisive stage. The impotent Provisional Government probably tried to avert the impending danger in July by arresting the heads of the Bolsheviks, persecuting their press and suppressing their agitation. But it is already too late. Lenin's party is in feverish activity. The agitation

among the workers and the military is intensified, weapons are procured, the press and organizations are put under high pressure. The party apparatus is at play; in the factories, in the streets and squares, the masses are flocking to the "meetings." The mood becomes more agitated, the demands greater and the threats louder. They demand the arrest of Milyukov, the arming of the workers, the dissolution of the Duma, the land for the peasants and the factories for the workers. 44

The closer the overthrow approaches, the more numerous the Jewish names appear in leading positions. In addition to Zinoviev, Sverdlov, Goloshchekin, who had been members of the CC. long before the war, other Jews were elected to the CC. at the 6th Party Congress (August). Thus Trotsky, Kollontai, Uritzki, Sokolnikov, Joffe and others.

Jewish leaders are in the forefront. At the beginning of August the 6th Party Congress of the Bolsheviks is opened. The Presidium consists of 11 heads:45 46)

5 Russians (27.5 v. h.)

6 Jews (54.6 percent)

1 Georgian (9.1 percent).

The Honorary Presidium, including Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev was arrested and did not attend the meeting. Lenin managed to escape: from his hiding place he directs the course of the meeting. The number of members of the Central Committee doubled, and the party elected its most capable leaders: Lenin, Trotsky, Rykov, Stalin, Sverdlov, Bubnov, Bukharin, Smilga, Dzerzhinsky, Sokolnikov, etc. In this Central Committee, the proportion of Jews rose from 25.1 in April of that year to 40 percent, and for the first time in the existence of the Bolshevik Central Committee was equal to the proportion of Russians. The latter no longer have an absolute majority; among the numerous new members, the non-Russian element predominates.

The Bolsheviks are drawing together their forces and setting up special organs to direct the coming violent uprising. These political and military staffs number only a few members, but these are among the most outstanding supporters of the party. The composition of the staffs is therefore particularly important; their members were the main responsible in the uprising.

First of all, 2 days after the closing of the party congress, on August 5, at the meeting of the CC. a "closer association" of the CC. is elected. The 25-member CC is too unwieldy an apparatus to manage the coming events.

Elected to the "closer association" are:48)

Stalin (Georgian),

Sverdlov (Jew).

Sokolnikov (Jew),

Muranov (Russian),

Dzerzhinsky (Pole),

Bubnov (Russian),

Milyutin (Russian),

Stasova (Russian),

Uritzki (Jew),

Schaumyan (Armenian),

Joffe (Jew).

In total 11: of which 4 Russians (36.4%), 4 Jews (36.4%), 3 other non-Russians (27.2%). The proportion of Russians in this "filtered" Central Committee is even lower than in the entire Central Committee.

On October 23 (10 a. St.) the historic meeting of the CC. takes place, at which the uprising was decided. After Sverdlov's speeches on the military situation, Lenin gave a report on the current situation. In his opinion, the political situation was ripe for the seizure of power. The initiative belonged to the Bolsheviks, behind whom the majority stood. Waiting for the Constituent Assembly would be pointless. The CC. concurred with Lenin's opinion and decided by 8 votes against the votes of Zinoviev and Kamenev, who did not believe in success, to overthrow by force.

The meeting was attended by:40)

Lenin,47 48 49) Sverdlov, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Stalin, Uritzki, Dzerzhinsky, Kollontai,

Bubnov, Sokolnikov, Lomov.

2 Russians (16.7 v. h.),

7 Jews (58.3%),

2 other non-Russians (16.6%).

Almost 60 per cent of the participants of this historic meeting, which decided to destroy the existing structure by force and to establish a new world order, were Jews.^{50 51 52)}

At the same meeting, a special 7-member "Political Bureau"^{44 52)} is appointed to "direct the uprising"⁴⁴. It is the first Bolshevik "Politburo"⁴⁴. It has the political supreme direction over the measures of the coming 14 days, which decide the fate of Russia. It is the real headquarters, the concentrated political brain of the Bolsheviks. Its members, belonging to the elite of the Bolsheviks, are the main political leaders on the "Great October". Contrary to the frequently spread opinion that the 1st Politburo was only created at the 8th Party Congress in March 1919, it is important to note that the 1st Politburo was already established before the uprising. For it is the leading role of the Politburo in the November upheaval that explains its later lasting influence.

The composition of this Politburo was:⁵³⁾

A total of 7, of which 2 (?) Russians, 4 Jews (57.2 v. H.), 1 other non-Russian.

Here the proportion of Russians is even smaller. The Jews, on the other hand, are even more strongly represented in this decisive body than in the Central Committee: with almost 60 percent, they alone have the absolute majority! The Jews have never before had such a high proportion in a leading party organ.

A special staff is also being created for the management of military operations. On October 25 (12. a. St.) the Petrograd Soviet, by this time already completely Bolshevized, elected the Petrograd "Military-Revolutionary Committee"⁴. The Committee took charge of the Red Guard and direct military preparations for the uprising. It consisted of the following 18 members: M)

Uritzki (Jew), Antonov-Ovsejenko (Russian), Mechonoshin (Russian), Goosev (Jew), Galkin (?)? Eremeyev (Russian), Dzerzhinsky (Pole), Dybenko (Ukrainian), Raskolnikov (Russian).

Of these 18 were: 8 Russians (44.4%)^{54 55)}, 6 Jews (55.5%), 2 other non-Russians (11.1%).

Finally, on October 29 (16. a. St.) the "War Revolutionary Center"⁴⁴ was appointed by the CC. for the overall direction of all military operations.⁵⁶⁾ This was the supreme war headquarters, the Red High Command, from which all orders emanated, in which all military threads came together. It was the concentrated military brain of the Bolsheviks. The well-known Jewish Soviet leader Yaroslavsky clearly establishes the "center"⁴⁴ as the supreme military leadership of the uprising:⁵⁷⁾

"This central body (and not anyone else) directed all the organizations involved in the uprising: the revolutionary detachments, the Red Guard, etc."

The composition of the "center"⁴⁴ was as follows:⁵⁸⁾

Sverdlov (Jew), Stalin (Georgian), Bubnov (Russian), Uritzki (Jew), Dzerzhinsky (Pole).

5 men, of whom 1 Russian (20 per cent), 2 Jews (40 per cent), 2 other non-Russians (40 per cent). Here the Russians, with only one fifth of the members of the "Center", have the very smallest share of all the special staffs.

The following table shows the national composition of the three leading bodies of the October Revolution, the Politburo, the Military-Revolutionary Committee and the War Revolutionary Center.

In the Politburo, in the highest political leadership of the overthrow, the Jews have the absolute

majority with almost 60 per cent. In the military staff it is one third and finally in the military high command 40 per cent.

At the same time we find here a further confirmation of the extraordinary drive for power of the Jews. It expresses itself in the fact that in those organs which have the greatest power, which in their powers are above all others, the Jews always spread themselves most. In the highest tops, in the highest positions of power, the Jews push themselves first and most, and there they are represented most numerous. The percentage of Jews - and this observation is confirmed again and again - is always greater on the highest commanding heights than in those leading positions which are one step lower. In order to keep the direction of the coming events firmly in their hands under all circumstances, and to influence the direction of the movement in their sense

sense, they always secure for themselves the widest place in the highest echelons.

Of the three top party organs that had the effective preparation for the uprising and the actual leadership in carrying it out, the Politburo and the War Revolutionary Center were the two most decisive and important. They had the supreme power - and it was there that the Jews had established themselves in the greatest numbers. In these two filtered organs of power there were more Jews in percentage terms (57.2 and 40 per cent, respectively) than in the 18-member Red Staff, which did not have supreme power: there "only 44 53.3 per cent" were Jews.

In these two highest organs of power, the political and military headquarters, there are 10 men together.⁵⁹) These 10 had the supreme political and military leadership in the October Revolution. They were to some extent the most influential party leaders and the most frequently mentioned heads under the leadership of Lenin, the founder and champion of their doctrine.

Who were these 10?

10:2 (?) Russians, 6 Jews, 2 other non-Russians.

Of the 10 leaders of the Bolsheviks who stood at their head on the eve of the revolution, a revolution which was to bring for the Russian people the Russian turn of their Russian destiny, were: 2 (?)

Russians, 6 Jews, 1 Georgian, 1 Pole. Over half of these 10 were Jews....

On November 4 (October 22 a. St.) the military had appointed revolutionary committees for all the troops garrisoned in Petrograd and for the most important points commissars. All decrees and orders relating to these points and troops required the confirmation of the commissars for their implementation.

3 days later, on November 7 (October 25 a. St.) 1917, the Marienpalais was stormed, the Provisional Government overthrown and the resistance of the Junker schools broken. In the bloody reflection of the fires, in the roar of the street fighting, the old Russia sinks forever.

In its place came the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A new era is dawning.

5e) Out of a total of 12 members, Bubnov and Stalin belonged to both bodies simultaneously.

Part II

The Jews in the Soviet Union

The fulfillment

First Chapter

Epoch of Lenin

(1917 to June 1922)

Lenin and the Jews.

Lenin was pro-Jewish Long before the war he advocated equal rights for the Jews and pressed his

demand with great vigor. The tsarist policy of nationalities, which was generally limited to oppression of foreigners, was the direct opposite of Lenin's demand for equality of nations, and of the Jews in particular. The Social Democratic Reichsdumafraktion had therefore placed the demand for equal rights for the Jews first in its bill in March 1914.

But Lenin was also pro-Jewish for another reason, for early on he emphasized the role of the Jews in international socialism. He calls¹⁾ their "internationalism, their receptivity to the leading movements of the epoch (the percentage of Jews in the democratic and proletarian movements is everywhere greater than their proportion in the total population) – the world-moving traits of Jewish culture."

Lenin was a Marxist, he saw Jews everywhere in the leadership of international socialism; that alone spoke for them and made their cooperation valuable to him. Marx, a Jew, was the founder of his world outlook, with which he wanted to bring salvation to the working people of Russia and all countries. He also appreciated the Jews for their intelligence, great adaptability and recreative gifts. Thus, for many years Zinoviev lived in emigration in his close proximity and worked for him. No one understood like Zinoviev how to put Lenin's most convoluted thoughts into a form comprehensible to the masses. He was a master of platitudes; no one like Zinoviev could present the most double-edged party decisions and the most contradictory facts as smooth self-evident facts. But that was what Lenin needed. Thus Lenin's positive attitude toward the Jews accommodated their own power-political intentions and thereby increased their importance in the party even more. Among the Bolsheviks who, in Lenin's company, traveled from Switzerland to Petrograd in a sealed wagon in April 1917, the numerous Jews stand out.¹⁵⁹⁾

They therefore took a leading part in the events of the October Revolution of 1917, which Lenin also acknowledged.

Lenin. What role the Jews played in the days and weeks immediately following the revolution, and what importance Lenin attached to their intervention, can be seen from the following report by Dimanstein. Dimanstein, the eminent Jewish Soviet official mentioned above, who as Commissar for Jewish National Affairs had frequent conversations with Lenin on the Jewish question at the beginning of Soviet rule, writes,

"... that in conversations with me Lenin frequently emphasized the importance of the Jews for the revolution not only in Russia but also in other countries, and how important it would be for the revolution to liquidate as quickly as possible the consequences of the injustices against the Jewish working masses stemming from the sins of the capitalist and religious world. . ."

Lenin further expressed such an original thought that it deserves to be recorded.

"Lenin thought that future research on the influence of the imperialist war on the October Revolution would not take due account of the tremendous importance of some facts. Such as, for example, this fact that as a result of the war events the industry of the Baltic and other frontier areas had been evacuated to the interior of Russia; that further, from the frontier areas significant parts of the Jewish population, at least their most active elements, had been taken to the interior of the Reich.

. . A great service to the revolution was also rendered by the fact that, as a result of the war, a large number of Jewish intellectuals appeared in the Russian cities.

They broke that general sabotage which we encountered immediately after the October Revolution and which was extremely dangerous for us.

The Jewish elements, though by no means all of them, broke this sabotage and thereby helped the revolution out of a difficult situation. (Blocking H. F.)

Lenin considered Maxim Gorky's opinion about the great importance of these elements to be quite correct, even if he recognized the inappropriateness of emphasizing this moment in the press, but he

emphasized that "we succeeded in controlling the state apparatus and transforming it significantly only thanks to these reserve, more or less intelligent and sober new officials. "60 (Blocking H. F.)

A tremendous statement. Here Lenin exposes the whole situation with one blow. If, through the measures of the tsarist government during the war, there had not already been a large number of Jewish intellectuals in the inner Russian cities, it would not have been possible for the Bolsheviks to get the administration into their hands. Thus, however, thousands of Jewish educated and semi-educated people, who were already in place as a result of the war events, poured into the abandoned chancelleries immediately after the October days and became the representatives of the Bolshevik power there. These Jewish elements were the first and only intellectuals to defect to the Soviet side. They organized a real race not to be a day, an hour late and to give up a corner of the powers to be won.

Further: Lenin says clearly and unmistakably that the only reserve for the occupation of the state apparatus were precisely these Jewish intellectuals. Had they not been there in time, the Bolsheviks would never have been able to gain control of the state apparatus, let alone "transform" it, i.e., destroy it. For a time, Russia's fate depended on there being enough literate, respectable Jews in Petrograd, Kazan and Orenburg.

The implications of this fact cannot be imagined. Lenin is only right in drawing the attention of future historical research to it. How many there were who, after the victory of the Red troops, penetrated the administrative apparatus and seized it, will probably never be ascertained; at least not as long as the Soviet power exists.

But their number should not have exceeded medium limits. The Jews occupied only the key positions, the posts of secretaries and commissars. In the soviets themselves and in the widely visible but power-politically less important command posts as chairmen of the soviets and their executive committees, the Russians were predominant. But the real masterminds were the Jews, who kept in the background. Just as the Jews had a decisive part in the preparation and in the overthrow itself, so they, and they alone, were the ones who completed the success of the weapons in the field of administration.

But the Soviet power itself also accommodated the invading Jews in a certain sense. For the Jews were needed. They were the only intellectuals on the side of the Bolsheviks, the only substitute for the old officialdom, which resisted or was driven out or murdered. With the nag and the machine gun alone one could destroy the opponents, but one could not do any administrative work, let alone establish a new state and social order. At least one had to be able to read and write. And the Bolsheviks, who were joined by only the most uneducated and crude elements of the locals in the early days, had a considerable lack of this. This situation was exploited by the literate Jews, who, according to their nature, immediately forced their way into the really decisive posts and seized the actual leadership; they were not interested in subordinate clerical posts, which were also to be filled.

This literacy of the Jews has always been pointed out by the Jewish side and thus explains their influence in the administration. However, this is not the most important thing, but the decisive thing is that they immediately filled all key positions with their relatives, although there were enough Russians for these positions.

Certainly, the Jews owe to their greater education, better semi-education, a considerable number of civil service posts, as secretaries in the Soviets and the like. There were numerous sailors and workers who often could only paint their three crosses. But the Jews, as a result of a huge influx, from the very beginning occupied such a wide and firm place and expanded so much precisely in the decisive posts that these offices remained closed to the Russians even later.

In a short time the Jews displaced also the local officials who had remained in responsible positions. At the beginning of the Soviet rule the Jews were its only and at the same time strongest and most reliable support. The Soviet power corresponded to the wishes of the Jews, and vice versa the new rulers

depended on the Jews.

Lenin did not want to conceal from the public the role played by the Jews in the revolution. But in this he understandably met with resistance, because the Jews, for their part, had no interest in being mentioned in too close connection with the Bolsheviks. We find a particularly characteristic case in the following report by Dimanstein:

". . . I remember that I once came to Lenin with a pamphlet published by Maxim Gorky, 'On the Jews'. The leaflet had been printed in an enormous number of copies. Its content seemed to me very clumsy. I hoped to obtain from Lenin a ban on the distribution of this leaflet. Maxim Gorky sang an incredible dithyramb on the Jewish people, praising them above all, so that one got the impression that the revolution was resting on the Jews, especially on their middle classes.

I was of the opinion that this not only did not correspond to reality, but could even be useful to our enemies for their anti-Semitic purposes in the struggle against the revolution.

Lenin agreed with me only that Gorky's leaflet was very unhappily formulated, since in a peasant country one must sometimes reckon with such a disgraceful prejudice as anti-Semitism.

But he found that this leaflet contained all sorts of useful things. Moreover,

he thought that my interpretation of the Scripture was a little sought after, and consequently it was not necessary to resort to such an extreme measure as the confiscation of Gorky's pamphlet would imply.)

It is understandable that the Jew Dimanstein wants to prevent the publication: if the counterrevolution learns that the Bolsheviks themselves are making the revolution out to be based only on the Jew, it means putting oil on the fire of the anti-Semitic propaganda of the Whites. And it was 1919, in the middle of the civil wars. And this is what the counterrevolution claimed: that Bolshevism was a purely Jewish affair and that it was based only on the Jew. Against the Soviet power, against the Jews – that was one of the slogans of the Whites.

But the Jews want to avoid everything that somehow points to their merits and their role in the revolution. They want to remain in the dark. It is quite enough for them that they actually hold this position of power, but this need not be publicly proclaimed. Least of all by leading Soviet personalities themselves. Therefore Lenin was inconvenient to the Soviet Jews in a certain sense, he wanted to publish what in their opinion was not intended for the public.

Lenin was different: although he also considered Gorky's pamphlet "unhappily worded," for him the "enlightenment" about the Jews and the public recognition of their services to the revolution weighed more than the rightly drawn anti-Semitic conclusions of the counterrevolution. One has the impression that it does not even occur to Lenin that one could also, without being incensed, disagree with him about the "merits" of the Jews in the revolution.

In a second case, the efforts of the Jews to remain in the background, and Lenin's failure to respond to them, become even clearer. When the commissariats were to be filled shortly after the October Revolution, Lenin proposed Trotsky as People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, giving as his reason that the fight against counterrevolution was now the main thing – it required a strong personality. Trotsky disagreed and, among other arguments, put forward the national moment:

"Is it worthwhile," he said, "to still give the enemies such a weapon as my Jewishness?" Lenin was almost indignant: "We have a great international revolution, what significance can such trifles have."
62)

It is the same again. Trotsky, the Jew, does not want to abet anti-Semitic propaganda by his appointment. He draws Lenin's attention to the possible consequences of his appointment, mentions his Jewishness, speaks it out, reminds Lenin of it. Lenin, however, does not care at all, the main thing is the revolution.

Again, one has the impression that Lenin could not even recognize the justification of any unfriendly

attitude towards the Jews. It seems as if he considered the anti-Semitism of the counterrevolution, the natural conclusion of Gorky's pamphlet, in fact – as Lenin had called it – merely "a disgraceful prejudice that one sometimes has to reckon with in a peasant environment". All the reasons Lenin gives against an anti-Jewish attitude (we will come back to this later) appear as if taken from a Jewish Marxist textbook and always illuminate only one side. But why is the emphasis on the connection between them and the Bolsheviks undesirable to the Jews?

If Gorky writes about the merits of the Jews in the revolution, if Trotsky becomes Commissar of the Interior, it means that the Jews occupy a powerful position in Soviet power and that their ideas are predominant. Now Jews as well as non-Jews know that an anti-Jewish attitude can be not only the result of incitement, but simply knowledge of the Jewish nature, i.e. that the Jews owe anti-Semitism to themselves. They themselves, therefore, are far more likely than Lenin to recognize the legitimacy of an anti-Jewish attitude, so they do not want their role in Soviet power to be so openly emphasized. If this happens, they must reckon with an anti-Semitic attitude on the part of the enemies of Bolshevism partly certainly as a result of incitement, but largely as a naturally necessary consequence of their domination. The eminent Jew Pinsker states:

"We must once and for all make friends with the idea that the other nations, by virtue of an inherent natural antagonism, will eternally expel us. We must not close our eyes to this natural force, which acts like any other elementary force; we must take notice of it, we must not complain about it.

We may state the sentence: if we deny any justification of this antagonism, we deny our völkische Eigenart." 5) (Blocking H. F.)

The anti-Semitic propaganda can under certain circumstances be mastered by counter-actions, but the Jews are powerless against an uprising of national, blood-determined feelings. They are suppressed or destroyed by them. That is why they prefer to remain in the dark, so that the masses do not even think of connecting their attitude to life with the fact of the Jews' position of power. They are not to notice from where actually the ideas could come, which they consider to be their own. For as soon as the attention is attracted and the connection is uncovered, the inevitable consequence is: the Jew is rejected and suppressed.

Lenin, on the other hand, unlike the Jews themselves, does not seem to have taken into account this natural rejection of the Jew, or he did not want it to be true. Therefore, in defending the Jews he sometimes went too far and did not meet with their approval, because by defending them so strongly he exposed too much their mutual close relations. In any case, the fact is that some Jewish Bolsheviks did not like Lenin, even those who were in his immediate vicinity. This also includes the fact that towards the end of his life, but for purely tactical reasons, Lenin had to go along with the NEP. (New Economic Policy) gave capitalist pause for breath. On the other hand, the opposition, whose most important leaders were precisely Jewish Bolsheviks headed by Trotsky, the representative of the extreme dogma, demanded continuation of the radical course.

Jewry always sent Trotsky ahead on the first plan. Lenin had to reckon with him, since through him passed the influence of the American Jews. We also note that there was fierce tension between Lenin and Trotsky until the February Revolution of 1917. Trotsky was neither Bolshevik nor Menshevik until the overthrow of tsarism in '63, but he had his own direction according to his self-willed and self-important person.

"Never yet," Lenin once said of him, "and on no serious question of Marxism did Trotsky possess a firm intention, but he always crawled through the crevice of this or that difference of opinion and defected from one side to the other." 64)

It was only when Trotsky returned from America after the February Revolution that Lenin united with him, and Trotsky immediately assumes a prominent position in the Bolshevik Party leadership. He is

elected to its Presidium at the 6th Party Congress (August 1917) and immediately after to the CC. of the Party. He is a member of the first Politburo and the Military Revolutionary Committee, and is among the ten main contributors to the Bolshevik overthrow. –

At last Jewish influence reached its zenith: L e n i n e r k 1 ä r t h e war against anti-Semitism. He threw his weight behind the Jews, the Jewish leaders in his party, who caused the whole world to make Bolshevism out to be a Jewish affair. He went to war against a movement that had arisen in Russia precisely and only when the Jews had created a position of power in Bolshevism and had become Lenin's strongest support in the state. And this war was directed against the own Russian people, against the Russian peasants and soldiers, because they began to hate the Jews at the moment when the Jews appeared everywhere as the representatives of the Soviet power. And what does Lenin call this natural counter-movement among the people, what is anti-Semitism according to Lenin?

Anti-Semitism, says Lenin, is nothing but a measure of capitalism for the purpose of diverting the attention of the toilers from their real enemy, capital:

"The capitalists strive to arouse enmity between workers of different faiths, different nations, different races. "65)

Therefore, anti-Semitism was also part of the policy of the tsarist monarchy, which insisted on the rule of landowners and capitalists:

"When the accursed tsarist monarchy was living its last hour, it tried to incite the ignorant workers and peasants against the Jews....

Shame and disgrace to the accursed tsarism which tormented and persecuted the Jews. Shame and disgrace to him who

enmity against the Jews, who sows hatred against the other nations!"

Enmity against the Jews, Lenin goes on to say, could only flourish where ignorance and darkness reigned under the scepter of the capitalists:

". . . Enmity against the Jews has lasted only where the landlords and capitalists have kept the workers and peasants in the deepest ignorance through serfdom. Only quite ignorant, quite oppressed people can believe the lies and slanders spread against the Jews. "0)

When at last the counterrevolution pointed to the Jewish Soviet leaders and began a fierce anti-Semitic propaganda, Lenin said:

". . . Anti-Semitism, he said, is an extreme means of counter-revolution and it must be fought with appropriate means!"10)

This is how Lenin portrays anti-Semitism: it is a diversionary maneuver of the capitalists, a prop of the hated tsarism, a remnant of a cultureless time under the rule of the landowners, and finally a cutting weapon of the counterrevolution. As a Marxist, surrounded at every turn by Jews in the camp of international socialists and dependent on them, as a Russian revolutionary and leader of Bolshevism, he therefore had to declare war on hostility to Jews. Added to this was the situation in Russia itself.

Pogroms were not only organized by the counterrevolution, but the peasants in Ukraine, gangs and even parts of the Red Army waged a war of extermination against the Jewish population.

Thus, as early as the beginning of 1918, at the suggestion of the Jewish Commissariat at the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, a special commission was set up to fight anti-Semitism. But Lenin struck the decisive blow against hostility to the Jews with the famous decree on the struggle against anti-Semitism. The history of the decree is characteristic of the situation: Dimanstein, as head of the Central Jewish Commissariat set up especially for Jewish affairs, was frequently at Lenin's and complained about hostility to the Jews. As he once again reported on the pogroms, he received an order from Lenin to immediately bring in a project of a decree on the fight against anti-Semitism.

"The project," Dimanstein reports, "had been pre-edited by Lenin, and by his hand the conclusion of

the decree had been written in the following form.

®) From the same address.

10) Dimanstein, p. 15.

I confirm,

1) that the elngegangeenen conditions. which were met by Platten oit the German legation, made known to me -orden elnd;

2) That I am subject to the instructions of the guide, Platten;

3) that ralr a communication of the "Petit Parteien' has been bokaannt, according to which the Russian proviaorleche government threatens to treat the travelers through Germany as high traitors,

4) that I take all political responsibility for this trip;

5) that I have been guaranteed by Platten to travel only as far as Stockholm.

Bern - Zurich. 9 April 181?.

Facsimile reproduction of the signatures of the Russian Bolsheviks, who, together with Lenin who started the journey through Germany together with Lenin.

The Sovarkom u) orders all Soviets to take decisive measures to root out the anti-Semitic movement. Pogromists and those who carry on pogromist agitation are to be placed outside the law." (Blocking H. F.)

This decree appeared on July 27, 1918, marking the tremendous influence of the Jews and the extraordinary favoritism shown to the Jewish population. After not yet % years of Bolshevik rule, anyone who expresses the slightest against the Jews is declared outlawed and immediately shot. Soviet power and the Jews.

During the transitional period between the two revolutions of 1917, broad masses of Orthodox Jewry in the former settlement area and the "Bund" were wary of the Bolsheviks. The rejection of private enterprise did not correspond to the wishes of the Jewish merchants and petty bourgeois. Nor would they be able to participate in the land theft released by the Bolshevik slogan "Rob the looted," for they knew full well that the peasants would not let them touch the land. Finally, after previous experience, they could not expect the Bolsheviks to be very much in favor of their national separatist aspirations. Rather, they had to expect opposition to their national life built on religion and tradition. Their anti-assimilation attitude, their desire to preserve their national character and not to be "completely absorbed" into their surroundings, as Lenin demanded, was bound to provoke a counteraction from the Bolsheviks.

But when the Bolsheviks actually seized power, and the Soviet government, which was under Jewish influence, showed itself friendly to the Jews, broad strata of Jewry adapted very quickly to the new situation. In the almost purely Jewish towns and patches of the former settlement zone, the influx of Jewish elements into the Soviets assumed such proportions and stood out from the anti-Bolshevik

attitude of the non-Jewish population to such an extent that

"in their attitude to Soviet power between the Jewish and non-Jewish populations there were marked differences." 66 67)

It is important to note here that this first influx of Jewish elements was voluntary, that is, it occurred before the wave of pogroms of the counterrevolution. Even in the countryside, Jews formed the Bolshevik vanguard, so that entire counties were won over to the Bolsheviks under Jewish leadership. 68 69 70) Everything that could read and write became a Soviet employee. Former small traders and dawdlers now developed their economic skills in the state trade and economic organs. Numerous Jews joined the Red Army and the Cheka (political police), so that even the formation of special Jewish units was considered. Whoever could, became a commissar in the capitals and provincial towns, placed there all his appendix, relatives, acquaintances, friends and girlfriends and began to "work". The process of promoting people close to one took on an improbable scale due to the Jewish sense of belonging: all Soviet offices were swarming with Jews.

Even the well-known Jewish Soviet leader Larin notes that.

"the percentage of Jews both in the party in general and in the active part of the party is greater. the further one goes back in Soviet history .

... Recently, the photograph of the Presidium at a meeting of the Leningrad Soviet after the October Revolution fell into my hands. The absolute majority behind the table of the Presidium are the Jude n." u) (blocking H. F.)

Most of the Jews came from the Belorussian territories (plus small numbers from Lithuania, Poland, and the Baltic States), where 15 per cent of all Soviet Russia's Jews lived. The influx into Moscow is so great that it is reflected in the distribution of Soviet Jews among the various territories of Soviet Russia.

While, according to the census of December 1926, 15 per cent of all Jews of the Soviet Union live in White Russia, only 10.6 per cent of all Jewish employees live in this region. Conversely, 5 per cent of all Jews of Soviet Russia live in Moscow, while 11 per cent of all Jewish employees live in Moscow. 10)

Thus, a shortage of Jewish Soviet employees in White Russia corresponds to an excess in Moscow, since the center of the revolution exerts the greatest attraction.

The main influx of Jewish Soviet employees came from Belarus because Ukraine, where the majority of Jews lived, was cut off from the center of the revolution first by the German occupation, then by the civil wars. Meanwhile, the mass entry of Jews into the civil service took place just until 19 2 1, during the civil wars. 18) If the influx of Jews from White Russia alone to Moscow had already led to the complete Judaization of the Soviets, it is easy to imagine what the consequences would have been if the Jewish reservoir in the Ukraine had not been cut off: in White Russia lived (according to the 1926 census) only 15 per cent of all Jews of the Soviet Union, whereas in the Ukraine 59 per cent.

But after all, not all Jews could become Soviet officials. There remained masses of merchants and craftsmen whose economic existence had been severely damaged by the destruction of private enterprise. Thanks to the influence of the Jews in the Soviet government, it was therefore natural that the government proposed remedial measures at an early stage. They consisted in the fact that simultaneously with the Bolshevization of the Orthodox and traditionalist masses, a social reorganization of the Jewish population was to be carried out. The Jewish merchants and craftsmen were to be given a new economic basis and transformed into laborers, workers, employees and peasants. Lenin himself followed these plans with great sympathy and stressed the importance of bringing the Jews into productive work, especially agriculture.

For the implementation of these measures, the Soviet power established special bodies as early as January 1918: the Central Jewish Commissariat at the People's Commissariat for the Nationalities and special Jewish Sections ("Jewsektia") at the Communist Party. Dimanstein became head of the Jewish

Commissariat and a leading member of the Central Bureau of the "Jewsektia." The latter became, in effect, the decisive organ for all Communist Party actions in the Jewish world, for its members headed the Jewish Commissariat. Thus the Jews had their special representation with the government and the party, and the heads of the Jewish Commissariat watched to see that party and government measures did not conflict with Jewish interests.

At times, the "Jewsektia" also acted quite vigorously against its "exploitative" tribesmen and against Jewish religious and cultural institutions. This fact has been used by the Jewish side in order to construct an alleged antagonism between the Jews and the Soviet power. However, these complaints are national-
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Jewish anti-assimilation circles that deplore the measures against Jewish cultural content. Politically, of course, the "Jewsektia" has never come out against the Jews, but always for them.

The propaganda of communism among the Jewish masses, immediately taken up by the "Jewsektia", had a complete success. It succeeded in splitting the Jewish socialist parties:

"their best elements," writes Dimanstein, "came over to us and helped us in the continuation of Jewish work."

The Jewish Soviet leader R a f e s reports that Communism spread very rapidly among the Jews when "the Jewish masses learned that the Soviet power was prepared to take care of the special needs of the Jews and had created a special government body for this purpose. (Blocking H. F.) The establishment of Jewish Communist sections also had a similar demonstrative character. The fact that there is a Central Bureau of Jewish Communist Sections at the CPR. directing special work among the Jews said a lot to the Jewish workers. "72)

In central Russia, sections of the "Jewsektia" sprang up everywhere among the Jewish Communist workers, accelerating the disintegration of the Jewish socialist parties and groups. In March 1919 a Communist majority was formed in the "Bund" and in August it united with the Communist Party of Ukraine.

In 1920, the "Bund" finally joined the CPR.

The influx of Jews into the Communist Party is very strong, with the main mass of Jews having joined just in the years 1917 -1921! In 1922 the proportion of Jews in the Communist Party already reached its peak. From then on, it is constantly and slowly decreasing, because it cannot keep up with the general growth of the CPR: the party is already saturated with Jews. The process of bolshe- wization among the Jews has for the most part already ended in 1922, while it is only now beginning among the other peoples.

The extent to which parts of the Jewish population had already begun to adapt economically at the beginning of Soviet rule is shown by the following, very carefully drafted report, which was prepared by the Central Bureau of the Jewish Sections. In this report on the "Tasks and Work" of the Party among the Jews it is stated:

"The consolidation of Soviet rule the onslaught of counterrevolution . . . had caused a certain upheaval . in the broadest circles of the poorest sections of the Jewish petty bourgeoisie This upheaval finds expression, among other things, in the founding of an "Association of Jewish Toilers (Setmas)." This association, which stands on the ground of the support of the Soviet power and the CPR. has very great success wherever it arises f o 1 g ." 73) (Blocking H. F.)

In 1919, the Soviet government also began to take the first measures to help the Jewish masses, who had fallen into great misery as a result of the decline of trade and commerce and countless pogroms.

Preparations began for the planned regrouping and transfer of the Jewish declassed into the ranks of the working people. As early as May 1919, the Central Committee of the Communist Party decided to take all steps immediately to improve the situation of the Jews in the western region by transferring the

Jewish masses to agriculture and by vigorously fighting anti-Semitism. And in September of the same year, at the instigation of the "Jewsektia," the People's Commissariat for Agriculture took the decision to promote agriculture among the Jewish masses by organizing Jewish agricultural communes and cooperatives. These first works of the central organs for the transformation of Jewry were interrupted by the Civil War, resumed in 1921, dropped again in the NEP. period as not urgent¹) and finally successfully continued in 1924 by appropriate decisions of the Soviet government. Thus the Soviet power had begun the transformation of Jewry in the sense desired by Lenin. The Jewish Commissariats were dissolved in 1924 and their work transferred to other Jewish organizations; the Jewish Sections of the CP. and its Central Bureau, on the other hand, were not dissolved until 1929.

Thanks to their outstanding position, the Jewish leaders were thus able, immediately after the October Revolution, to take all measures to make good the damage caused by the abolition of private enterprise to the Jewish population alone.

In power.

Officially, the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnar- kom) formed the supreme soviet executive, but in reality the Communist Party and in particular its leading organs: the Central Committee and the Politburo of the Central Committee, ruled from the very beginning.

The subordination of the Soviet organizations to the Central Committee was basically a coup d'état carried out by Lenin and his immediate entourage. At first this subordination was concealed and masked, and only at the 8th Party Congress in 1919 did Zinoviev speak openly about it. The following dialogue between Zinoviev and the oppositionist Osinsky is more than indicative of the real state of affairs:⁷⁴) Zinoviev: "The basic questions of external and internal policy must be decided by the CC. of our Party, i.e., the Communist Party; these decisions are then carried out by the Soviet organs; this is done, of course, intelligently, with tact, so as not to step on the toes of the Sovnar- kom and the other authorities."

"And the CC. of our Party has brilliantly solved this task . . . The Sovnarkom stepped forward, but the ZK. of the party decided."

Osinski: "We are comforted by the fact that ... in our case, the Sovnarkom did not decide on important matters, the Party Central Committee dealt with them. Comrade Zinoviev credits this to the Central Committee. But then directly says that the CC. should become the government." Let us then examine the national composition of the first Sovnarkom. There were elected as People's Commissars:⁷⁵) Lenin (Russian?), Chair;

Rykov (Russian), Interior;

Milyutin (Russian), agriculture;

Shlyapnikov (Russian), labor; Ovseyenko-Antonov (Russian), Krylenko (Russian),

Dybenko (Russian),

Nogin (Russian), trade and commerce; Lunacharsky (Jew), popular education; Skvortsov-Stepanov (Russian), finance;

Trotsky (Jew), Foreign Affairs;

Oppokov (Lomov, Russian), Justice;

Teodorovich (Russian), rations;

Avilov (Glyebov, Russian), post and telegraph;

Stalin (Georgian), nationalities.